

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4603
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 NATO 06336

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE STUDY OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS:
FRENCH VIEWS

REF: (A) NATO 6239, (B) NATO 5482, (C) 5525

SUMMARY: IN PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH US, FRENCH DELEGATION OFFICERS STRESSED THEIR DESIRE TO COOPERATE TO THE FULLEST DEGREE POSSIBLE IN WORKING OUT PROBLEMS ON OUTLINE FOR EAST-WEST STUDY, SUGGESTED FRENCH COULD ACCOMMODATE US DESIRES TACITLY PROVIDED TROUBLESOME ELEMENTS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN WRITTEN OUTLINE, BUT EMPHASIZED THEY FORESEE ALMOST NO FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH "IMPLICATIONS" OF STUDY IN AREAS OF TRADE, CREDITS, TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFERS, OR IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRENT POLICIES OF NATO COUNTRIES. THEY SUGGESTED EITHER (A) BRIEF NON-CONTROVERSIAL FORMULATION FOR "IMPLICATIONS" SECTION OF THE OUTLINE, OR (B) LEAVING "IMPLICATIONS" SECTION ASIDE, WHILE WORK PROCEEDS ON FIRST PART OF STUDY OUTLINE. WE DOUBT THAT HIGH-LEVEL DEMARCHE TO FRENCH WOULD BE USEFUL AT THIS STAGE AND SUGGEST ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT PROBLEMS WITH THE FRENCH
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HERE, WHERE THEY WILL BE UNDER PRESSURE FROM OTHER DELEGATIONS TO FIND WAYS TO EVENTUALLY COVER "IMPLICATIONS" IN THE STUDY. FRENCH MAY SEEK TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS TO THE COUNCIL ON JULY 6. END SUMMARY.

1. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION WITH US JUNE 30, FRENCH DELEGATION OFFICERS EMPHASIZED PROBLEMS OF THEIR AUTHORITIES

WITH SUB-PARAS II AND III OF SECTION SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR EAST-WEST STUDY BEGINNING WITH "IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE." THEY REVIEWED IN DETAIL THEIR INSTRUCTIONS FROM PARIS WHICH STATED "IT SEEMS VERY PREMATURE TO CONSIDER HOW TO DEAL WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THE STUDY EVEN BEFORE HAVING BEGUN THE ANALYTICAL SECTIONS OF THE STUDY AND BEFORE KNOWING THE CONCLUSIONS OF THESE SECTIONS. IN ANY EVENT, THE DESCRIPTION OF IMPLICATIONS SHOULD NOT BE UNDERTAKEN BEFORE THE COUNCIL OR SPC HAS APPROVED THE FIRST TWO PARTS OF THE STUDY. WHILE IT SEEMS TO US NORMAL TO FORESEE THE INVENTORY OF IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF ANALYSES OF THE LONG-TERM EVALUATION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, THAT INVENTORY CANNOT BE AS AMBITIOUS AS THAT CONTAINED IN PART 3 OF THE PRESENT OUTLINE. THE WORDS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE IN THE LONDON COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS COVERING SECURITY ASPECTS AND NOT THE GENERAL WESTERN POSITIONS IN THE ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, OR SOCIAL FIELDS OR ALLIED INTERESTS IN THE BROADEST SENSE OF THE TERM. ON PRINCIPLE, WE CANNOT AGREE TO COLLECTIVE ALLIED 'REACTIONS' IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND OTHER AREAS MENTIONED IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF THE OUTLINE. THE QUESTION OF EVENTUAL 'REACTIONS' IN THE MILITARY FIELD IS DIFFERENT AND DOES NOT CONCERN US. IN CONCLUSION, THE FINAL SUB-PARA OF THE OUTLINE SEEMS TO IMPLY THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD INDIVIDUALLY ALIGN THEIR POLICIES WITH THE REACTIONS DEFINED IN THE

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STUDY, A CONCEPT WHICH IS EVEN MORE UNACCEPTABLE TO US."

2. FRENCH DELEGATION OFFICERS STRESSED THAT THEY FORESAW LITTLE FLEXIBILITY ON THE PART OF THEIR AUTHORITIES REGARDING THESE BASIC POINTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTED, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A WAY TO ACHIEVE MUCH OF WHAT THE US HOPED TO ACCOMPLISH IF A TACIT AND PRAGMATIC APPROACH WERE ADOPTED AND TROUBLESOME CONCEPTS AND WORDS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE OUTLINE, WHICH THEY EXPECTED WOULD INEVITABLY LEAK INTO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. THEY COMMENTED ON THE NEED FOR SPECIAL DISCRETION ON THE PART OF THE FRENCH AT THIS DELICATE STAGE IN INTERNAL FRENCH POLITICS, AS WELL AS OVER THE COMING YEAR.

3. WHILE EXPRESSING OUR APPRECIATION FOR FRENCH DELEGATION OFFICERS' EFFORTS TO CLARIFY THEIR POSITION, WE SAID FRENCH APPEAR TO HAVE OVER-REACTED TO PORTIONS OF THE SUGGESTED OUTLINE. US INTENTIONS, WE SAID, WERE TO ENSURE THAT THE STUDY NOT BE SIMPLY AN ACADEMIC EXERCISE, AND TO PROMPT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF POLICY ALTERNATIVES FOR THE ALLIES THAT COULD BE DERIVED FROM A THOROUGH, SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS OF FUTURE TRENDS IN THE EAST. THE OBJECTIVE WAS

NOT TO STRAIGHT-JACKET WESTERN POLICY OR TO FORCE ADOPTION OF POLICY CONCLUSIONS, BUT RATHER TO STIMULATE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE AND ALTERNATIVE RESPONSES TO TRENDS WHICH HIGH-LEVEL ALLIED OFFICIALS WOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT IN POLICY FORMATION.

4. FRENCH OFFICERS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND SYMPATHY FOR US OBJECTIVE AND FOR DESIRE, THROUGH THE STUDY, TO BREATHE NEW LIFE INTO ALLIANCE POLITICAL STUDIES AND CONSULTATIONS, BUT EMPHASIZED THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS OF THEIR AUTHORITIES WITH TROUBLESOME PASSAGES THAT MIGHT APPEAR ON PAPER.

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THEY ADDED THAT FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON HAD, THEY BELIEVED, INDICATED A DEGREE OF POSSIBLE FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR OWEN BEFORE THE SUMMIT, BUT NOTED THAT PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS ABOUT "DEDUCING POLICY CONCLUSIONS" FROM THE STUDY, AS AMBASSADOR OWEN SAID IN HIS MAY 10 PRESS CONFERENCE IN LONDON, WERE TROUBLESOME FOR THE FRENCH.

5. LOOKING AHEAD, FRENCH OFFICERS SUGGESTED THAT WORK PROCEED ON THE FIRST PART OF THE STUDY WHILE FRENCH, US AND OTHER ALLIES CONSIDER HOW BEST TO HANDLE FINAL PART OF THE OUTLINE ON "IMPLICATIONS." THEY THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO LEAVE THIS SECTION BLANK FOR SOME TIME OR TO DEVELOP A VERY GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION DRAWN FROM NON-CONTENTIOUS PHRASES IN SUB-PARA I OF THIS SECTION OF THE OUTLINE. THEY ADDED THAT AMBASSADOR TINE HAS RECOMMENDED TO PARIS THAT HE PRESENT FRENCH VIEWS TO THE COUNCIL ON JULY 6, BUT DID NOT YET KNOW WHAT THE REACTION OF PARIS WOULD BE. THEY SAID THEY WOULD INFORM US AS SOON AS THEY RECEIVED REPLY AND NOTED THEIR DESIRE TO CONSULT WITH US

DELEGATION ON FINAL PART OF THE OUTLINE BEFORE EITHER THEY
OR WE MAKE FURTHER PRESENTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE IN THE SPC.
WE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO LISTEN TO FRENCH VIEWS AT ANY
STAGE, BUT MADE NO OTHER COMMITMENTS.
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6. COMMENT: WHILE WE MAY NEED TO RESPOND IN THE NAC
JULY 6 IF TINE PRESENTS FRENCH VIEWS, WE BELIEVE BEST
COURSE AT THIS STAGE WOULD BE TO TAKE A BREATHING SPACE OF
A FEW WEEKS IN WORKING OUT SECTION OF THE OUTLINE ON
"IMPLICATIONS" WHILE WORK PROCEEDS ON THE REMAINDER OF THE
STUDY. FRENCH REPS HERE HAVE SIGNALLED STRONGLY THEIR
DESIRE TO BE COOPERATIVE AND ACCOMMODATING, WITHIN THE
VERY LIMITED FLEXIBILITY PROVIDED BY THEIR INSTRUCTIONS,
AND WE DOUBT THAT A HIGH-LEVEL DEMARCHE WILL BUDGE THE
FRENCH AT PRESENT. IT COULD EVEN CAUSE THEM TO DIG IN
THEIR HEELS.

7. AS DISCUSSIONS PROCEED HERE WITH THE FRENCH, AND AS
THEY ARE SUBJECTED TO PRESSURE BY OTHER DELEGATIONS, WE
MAY FIND THAT THE BEST COURSE WILL BE TO ATTEMPT TO
DEVELOP A GENERAL, NON-CONTENTIOUS FORMULATION FOR THE
OUTLINE SECTION ON IMPLICATIONS WHICH FRENCH CAN LIVE WITH.
IN TERMS OF CONTRIBUTIONS, HOWEVER, WE AND MOST ALLIES
WOULD STICK TO INTENT OF THE PRESENT OUTLINE SO THAT IN
THE DRAFTING OF THE IMPLICATIONS SECTION WE CAN MAINTAIN
THE MAXIMUM CONTENT.

8. IT MAY ALSO TURN OUT THAT FRENCH WILL HAVE LESS TROUBLE
WITH EXTENSIVE, DISCURSIVE DRAFTS THAN WITH CAPSULE OUTLINE
THAT, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, MIGHT INDEED BE EMBARRASSING TO
GOF IF IT LEAKED. HOWEVER, PREDICTIONS ON THIS POINT ARE
FECKLESS AT THIS STAGE.

9. THUS, WE CONCLUDE THAT THE BEST COURSE, AS WE SEE IT,
WOULD BE TO AVOID CONTROVERSY OVER THE OUTLINE AND TO MOVE
AHEAD WITH DRAFTING, TAILORING US CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR
DESIRES AND LETTING OTHER ALLIES KNOW IN LOW KEY THAT WE
WOULD PREFER TO HOLD SUBSTANTIVE DEBATE ON THE DRAFT TEXTS
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THEMSELVES, RATHER THAN ON THE OUTLINE. AMONG OTHER
REASONS, WE FAVOR THIS COURSE BECAUSE THE DEBATE ON
BRACKETED TEXTS COULD PROVE AS IMPORTANT AS THE AGREED
PAPER THAT EMERGES AS THE FINAL, CONSENSUS DRAFT. BENNETT

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